

The 2008 DNC Presidential Nomination Process

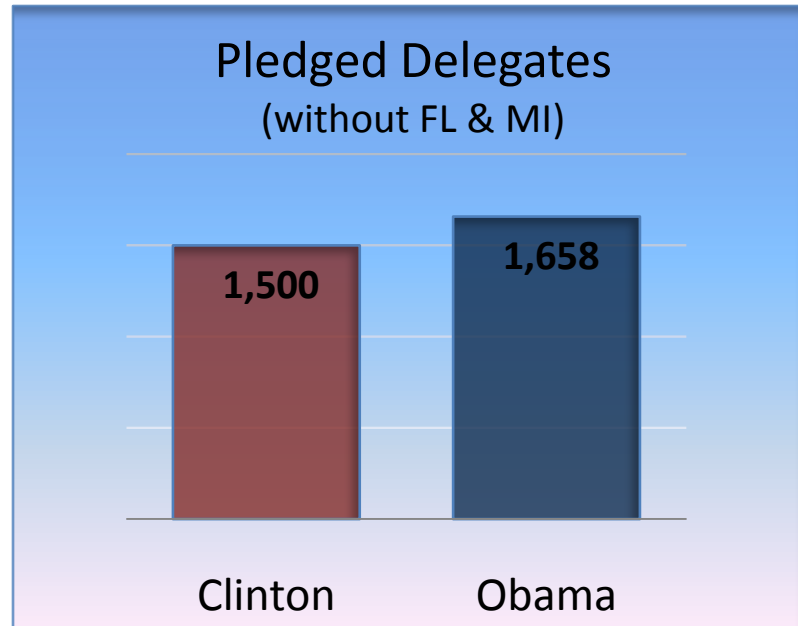
A Crisis Of Legitimacy

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Obama's Claim to the Nomination

"I have won the majority of pledged delegates, so I am the choice of the party."



- 1. By itself, a majority of pledged delegates is not sufficient.**
- 2. This year, the legitimacy of the pledged delegate count is uncertain.**

1. A Majority Of Pledged Delegates Is Not Sufficient.

The nominee must win a majority of all delegates to clinch the nomination.
Super delegates comprise about 20% of the total number of delegates:

(A) The super delegate system adds discretionary judgment to balance out quirks in the “*mechanical*” pledged delegate system.

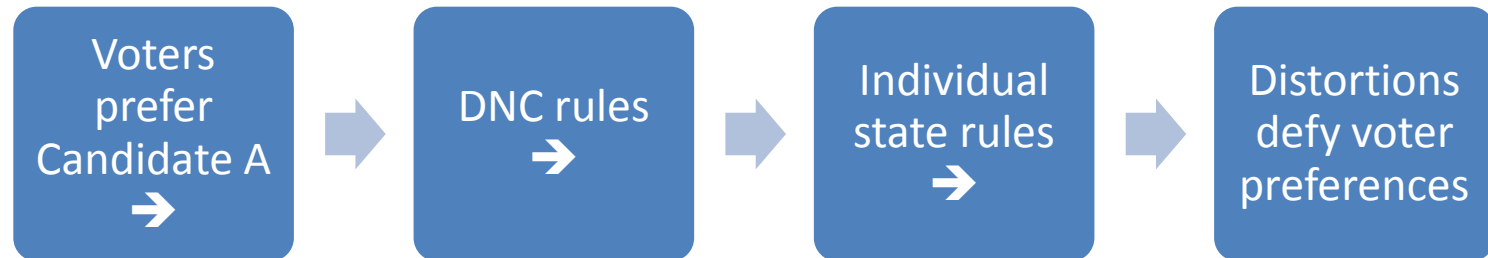
(B) They are intended to be “thinking delegates,” and their decision process is free of rules, guidelines or measures.

(C) They can wait until the first ballot on the convention floor to make their decision; and their endorsements are non-binding.

A majority of pledged delegates is an *argument* for the nomination. It is not, however, a *qualifying event*.

2. The Legitimacy Of The Pledged Delegates Is Unclear

The Democratic Party uses a ***proportional*** system of nominating pledged delegates. It is not a one-person, one-vote standard. In fact, it is *designed* to add bias in favor of certain states:

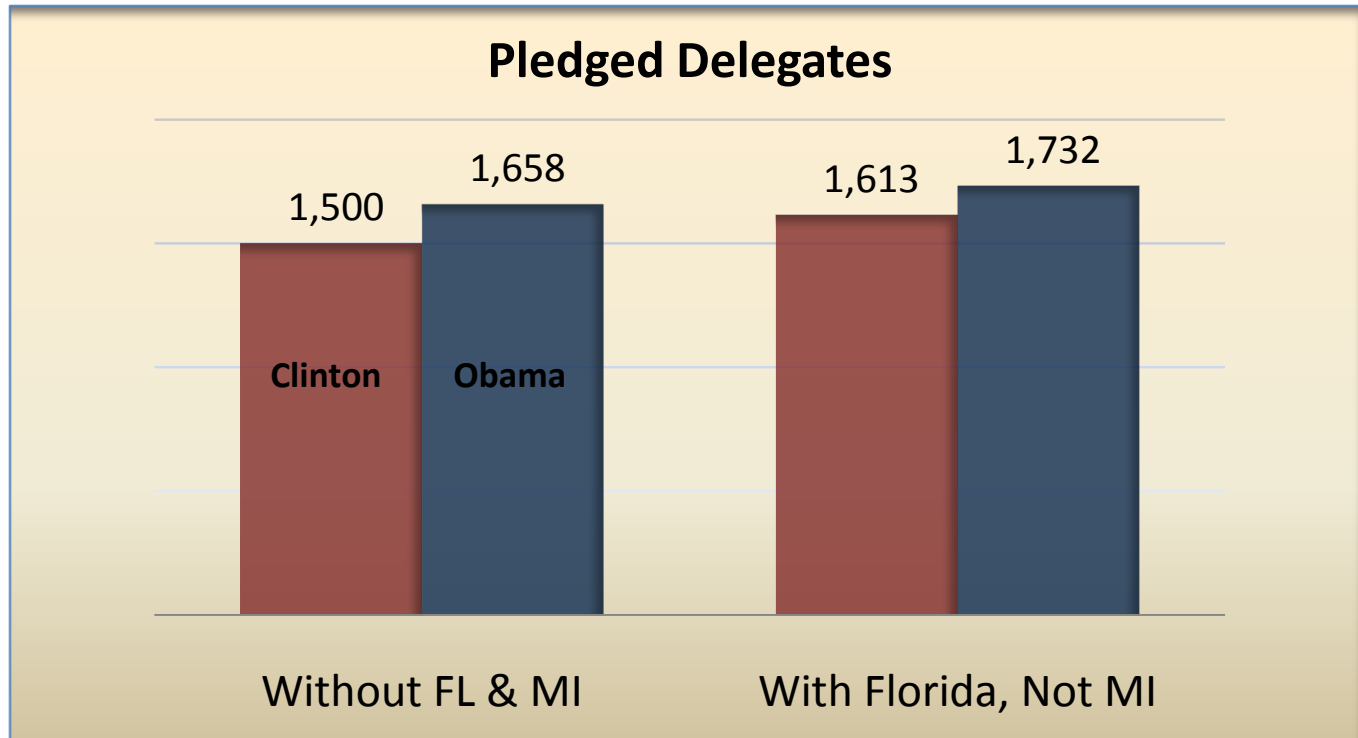


But the system also produces random distortions. Occasionally, these can produce sharply undemocratic results.

The mechanical pledged delegate system was not designed to correct even the most obviously undemocratic distortions.

Total Pledged Delegates (Primaries + Caucuses)

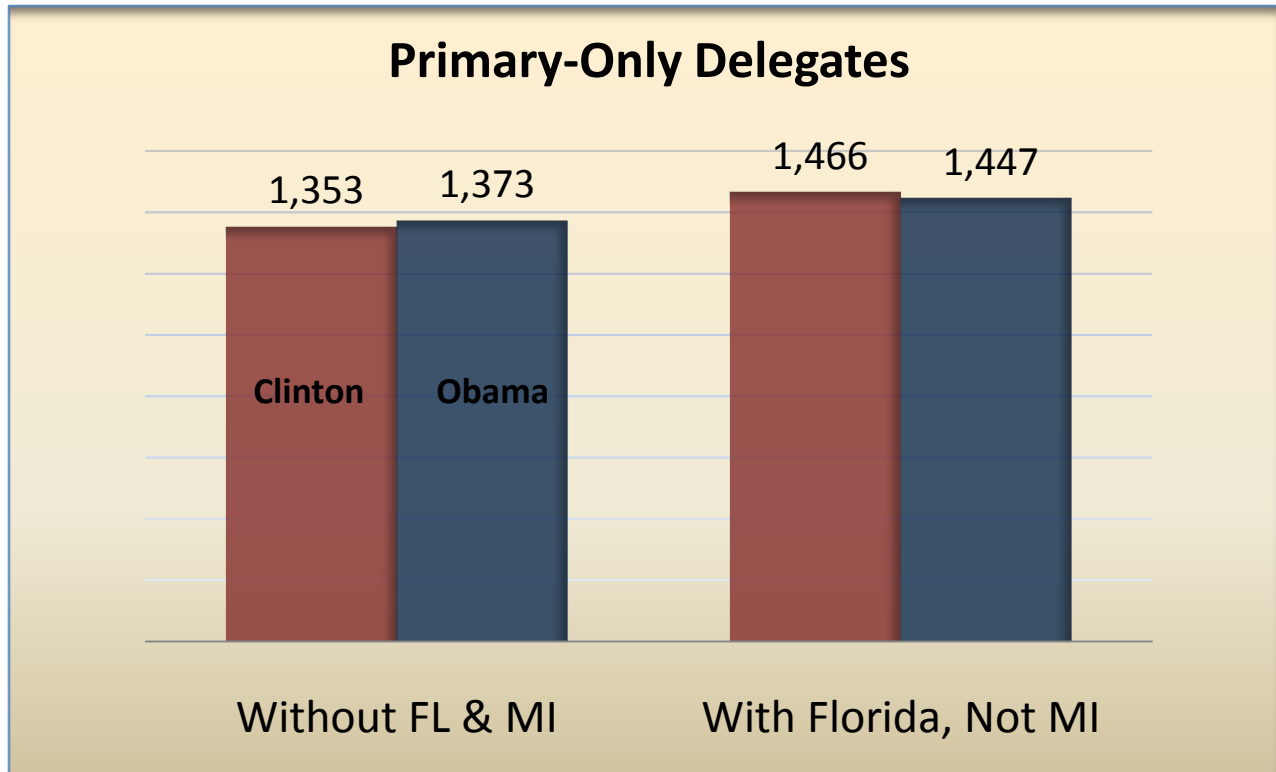
An estimated 33.9 million votes have been cast in 49 elections:



The spread in pledged delegates is 5.3% / 3.6%.

Primaries Only (No Caucuses)

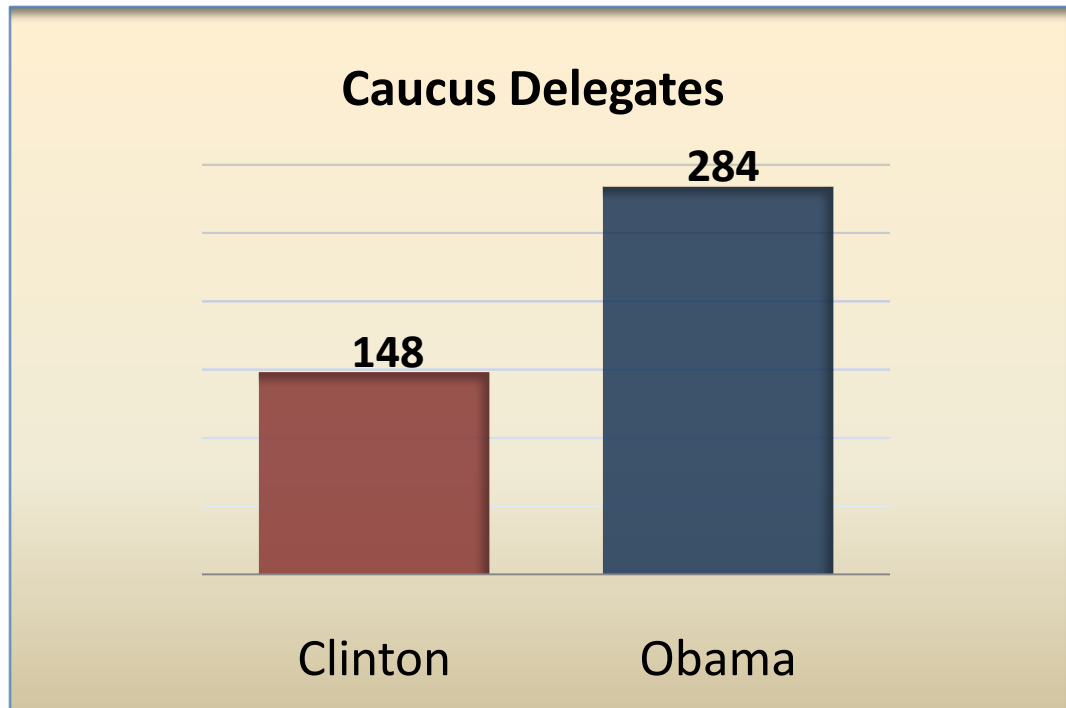
32.9 MILLION votes cast in 34 elections:



The PRIMARY-ONLY pledged delegate spread is LESS THAN one percent.

Caucuses Only (No Primaries)

An estimated just ONE million votes were cast in 15 caucuses:



**The SPREAD IS ALMOST 2-1.
The caucuses give Obama a 136 delegate advantage.**

Once More - *Primary Versus Caucus Results*

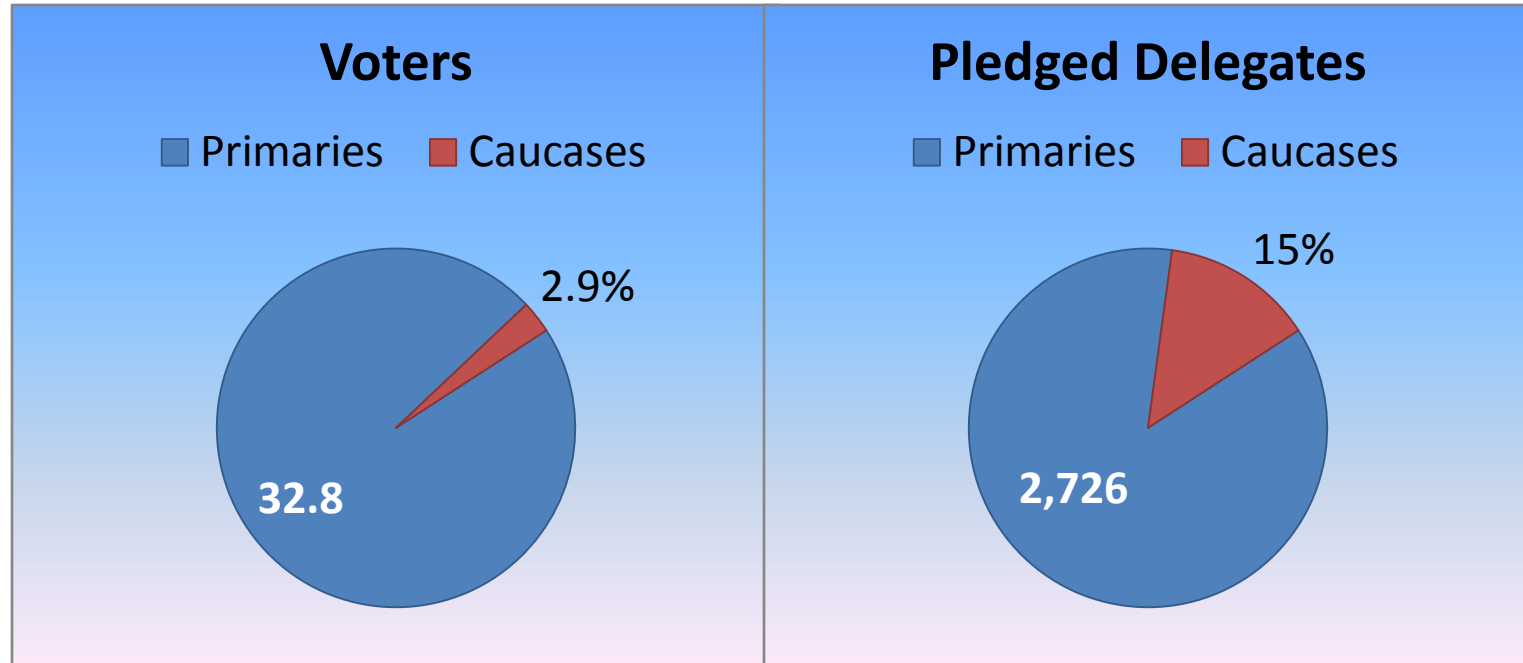
ALL of Obama's lead is from the 15 caucus elections:

<u>Election Type</u>	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Spread</u>	<u># Elections</u>
Primaries	32.9 million	<i>Less than .01%</i>	34
Caucuses	1 million*	200%	15
Combined	33.9 million	3.6% - 5.3%	49

The primary states more closely resemble the one-person/one-vote “ideal.” There is significantly less chance for distortion. **Obama's wins in the caucus states account for nearly all his pledged delegate lead.**

How Caucuses Can Distort The Entire Process

The caucuses account for just 2.9% of voters...



...Yet they represent 15% of the pledge delegates awarded so far.

One caucus vote is equivalent to five primary votes.

We Don't Know The True Vote Count

Four caucus states – Iowa, Maine, Nevada & Washington – don't report raw vote totals. Instead, they report “equivalents.”

State	Caucus Turnout	Winner
Washington*	238,000(e)	Obama
Minnesota	211,103	”
Iowa*	161,000(e)	“
Maine*	43,000(e)	“
Nebraska	38,571	“
Hawaii	37,182	“
Kansas	36,634	“
Nevada*	31,000(e)	“
Idaho	20,535	“
North Dakota	18,573	“
Alaska	8,868	“
Wyoming	8,689	“

*Calculations based on RCP estimates. State numbers were tallied according to an article by Clint Hendler published on May 2, 2008 in the Columbia Journalism Review: *The Inestimable Popular Vote Estimates - How to account for different counts.*

Combined, the four have more than 13.4 million people (nearly 5% of the U.S. total) – yet we will never know the precise vote.

The Caucuses Are “Samples Of Samples”

The average caucus turnout was 40% the size of recent same-state primary elections.

<u>State</u>	<u>Caucus Turnout</u>	<u>Comparable Primary Turnout</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Comparable Primary</u>
Wyoming	8,689	81,405	11%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>
Hawaii	37,182	238,033	16%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>
Alaska	8,868	50,000	18%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>
Nevada	31,000	117,842	26%	<i>2006 Primary/US Sen</i>
North Dakota	18,573	58,231	32%	<i>2006 Primary/US Sen</i>
Iowa	161,000	473,446	34%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>
Washington	238,000	691,381	34%	<i>Feb 19 2008 State Primary</i>
Nebraska	38,571	94,905	41%	<i>May 20 2008 State Primary</i>
Kansas	36,634	76,046	48%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>
Minnesota	211,103	316,470	67%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>
Idaho	20,535	30,443	67%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>
Maine	43,000	53,175	81%	<i>2006 Primary/Gov</i>

Sampling small samples is an invitation to distortion.

Obama's Top Ten Voting By Spread: Nothing Coincidental

Obama (A) won all twelve caucus states; (B) eight of his top-ten victories are from caucus states.

<u>State</u>	<u>% of US Population</u>	<u>Spread (Votes)</u>	<u>Spread (%)</u>	<u>Primary or Caucus</u>
Idaho	0.5%	13,225	62%	Caucus
Hawaii	0.4%	19,512	52%	Caucus
Alaska	0.2%	4,480	51%	Caucus
Kansas	0.9%	17,710	48%	Caucus
Nebraska	0.6%	13,681	35%	Caucus
Georgia	3.1%	374,221	35%	Primary
Washington*	2.1%	84,000	35%	Caucus
Minnesota	1.7%	73,115	34%	Caucus
Colorado	1.6%	41,274	34%	Caucus
South Carolina	1.4%	153,908	29%	Primary

The likelihood of a candidate winning (A) *and* (B) and it being a legitimate accounting of a voter intent is low.

Obama Scored Well In Over-Represented States

He won all of the ten states with the *least voters per pledged delegate*; Clinton won seven of the ten states with the *most voters per pledged delegate*.

<u>Least</u> Voters Per Pledged Delegate:		
<u>State</u>	<u>Voters Per Pledged Del</u>	<u>Winner</u>
Alaska	682	Obama
Wyoming	724	"
Idaho	1,141	"
Kansas	1,145	"
Nevada	1,240	"
North Dakota	1,429	"
Nebraska	1,607	"
Maine	1,792	"
Hawaii	1,859	"
Colorado	2,163	"

<u>Most</u> Voters Per Pledged Delegate:		
<u>State</u>	<u>Voters Per Pledged Del</u>	<u>Winner</u>
Indiana	17,726	Clinton
Ohio	16,421	Clinton
Wisconsin	14,876	Obama
Texas	14,638	Clinton
Pennsylvania	14,606	Clinton
North Carolina	13,389	Obama
Kentucky	13,118	Clinton
Mass	13,085	Clinton
Illinois	12,981	Obama
California	12,959	Clinton

The ten states with the least votes/pledged delegates were all *caucus* states. The ten states with the most were all *primary* states.

Real Clear Evidence

Two caucus states so far have also held non-binding primaries:

<u>State</u>	<u>Caucus Date</u>	<u>Obama Delegates</u>	<u>Primary Date</u>	<u>Obama % Vote</u>	<u>Primary Vs Caucus Turnout</u>
Washington	Feb 9 th	68%	Feb 19 th	51%	3 x 1
Nebraska	Feb 9 th	68%	May 20 th	49%	2.5 x 1
Idaho	Feb 5 th	83%	May 29 th	?	?

Obama's performance decreases substantially when the same state caucus is tested by a primary.

Caucuses Are Exclusionary / The Results (This Year) Biased

Compared to casting a vote, caucuses are difficult:

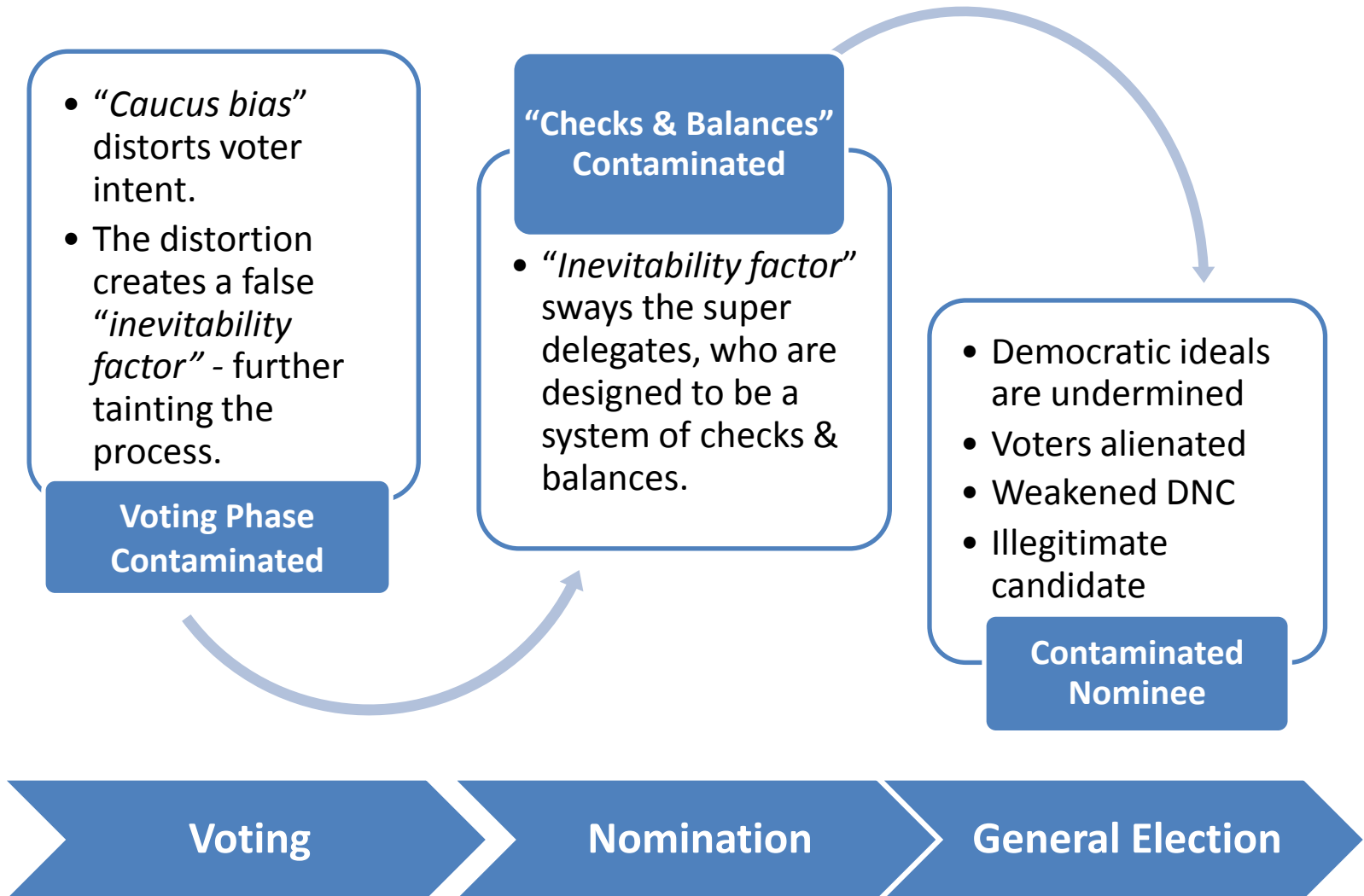
- They are held at a set time.
- They require time – generally two to four hours.
- They can be intimidating - enthusiastic supporters garner votes until the end.
- They can be frustrating - particularly to voters not versed in the rules.

Many people are totally shut out:

- Voters serving in the active military.
- Those who are sick, confined to their homes, older or who don't drive at night.
- Blue collar workers, people working shifts, families with children.

All the above worked for Obama and against Clinton. Obama had an energized network of young people; Hillary's base demographics were the working class and the elderly.

The Disease (“Caucus Bias”) Is Not The Cure



Caucuses Are Inherently Undemocratic

The irony is that the only antidote is the superdelegates. If they fail to act, it will cast an irreparable shadow on the process.